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A  
DISCOURSE  
ON THE  
LOVE OF OUR COUNTRY,  
DELIVERED ON NOV. 4, 1789,  
AT THE  
MEETING-HOUSE IN THE OLD JEWRY,  
TO THE  
SOCIETY  
FOR  
COMMEMORATING THE REVOLUTION  
IN  
*GREAT BRITAIN.*  
WITH AN  
APPENDIX,  
CONTAINING THE  
REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIETY;  
AN  
ACCOUNT OF THE POPULATION OF FRANCE;  
AND THE  
DECLARATION OF RIGHTS BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY  
OF FRANCE.

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M.DCC.LXXXIX.

DISCOUSE

AND

LOVE OF OUR COUNTRY

DELIVERED BY JOHN F. B. ARDEN

AT THE

THEATRE OF THE CITIES

ON THURSDAY

COMMEMORATING THE REVOLUTION

OF 1776

AND

A. P. F. M. O. I. C.

THE FIRST

OF THE

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D. RICHARD BRUCE, D. D.

AND

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A

DISCOURSE, &c.

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PSALM CXXII. 2d, and following verses.

*Our feet shall stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem, whither the tribes go up; the tribes of the Lord unto the testimony of Israel. To give thanks to the name of the Lord, for there sit the thrones of judgment; the throne of the House of David. Pray for the peace of JERUSALEM. They shall prosper that love thee. Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces. For my brethren and companions sake I will now say peace be within thee. Because of the House of the Lord our God, I will seek thy good.*

**I**N these words the Psalmist expresses, in strong and beautiful language, his love of his country, and the reasons on which he founded it; and my present design is, to take occasion from them to explain the duty we owe to our country, and the nature, foundation, and proper

B                      expressions

expressions of that love to it which we ought to cultivate.

I reckon this a subject particularly suitable to the services of this day, and to the Anniversary of our deliverance at the Revolution from the dangers of popery and arbitrary power; and should I, on such an occasion, be led to touch more on political subjects than would at any other time be proper in the pulpit, you will, I doubt not, excuse me.

The love of our country has in all times been a subject of warm commendations; and it is certainly a noble passion; but, like all other passions, it requires regulation and direction. There are mistakes and prejudices by which, in this instance, we are in particular danger of being misled.—I will briefly mention some of these to you, and observe,

First, That by our country is meant, in this case, not the soil or the spot of earth on which we happen to have been  
born;

born ; not the forests and fields, but that community of which we are members ; or that body of companions and friends and kindred who are associated with us under the same constitution of government, protected by the same laws, and bound together by the same civil polity.

Secondly, It is proper to observe, that even in this sense of our country, that love of it which is our duty, does not imply any conviction of the superior value of it to other countries, or any particular preference of its laws and constitution of government. Were this implied, the love of their country would be the duty of only a very small part of mankind ; for there are few countries that enjoy the advantage of laws and governments which deserve to be preferred. To found, therefore, this duty on such a preference, would be to found it on error and delusion. It is, however, a common delusion. There is the same partiality in countries, to themselves, that

there is in individuals. All our attachments should be accompanied, as far as possible, with right opinions.—We are too apt to confine wisdom and virtue within the circle of our own acquaintance and party. Our friends, our country, and in short every thing related to us, we are disposed to overvalue. A wise man will guard himself against this delusion. He will study to think of all things as they are, and not suffer any partial affections to blind his understanding. In other families there may be as much worth as in our own. In other circles of friends there may be as much wisdom; and in other countries as much of all that deserves esteem; but, notwithstanding this, our obligation to love our own families, friends, and country, and to seek, in the first place, their good, will remain the same.

Thirdly, It is proper I should desire you particularly to distinguish between the love of our country and that spirit of rivalry and ambition which has been  
common



common among nations.—What has the love of their country hitherto been among mankind? What has it been but a love of domination; a desire of conquest, and a thirst for grandeur and glory, by extending territory, and enslaving surrounding countries? What has it been but a blind and narrow principle, producing in every country a contempt of other countries, and forming men into combinations and factions against their common rights and liberties? This is the principle that has been too often cried up as a virtue of the first rank: a principle of the same kind with that which governs clans of *Indians* or tribes of *Arabs*, and leads them out to plunder and massacre. As most of the evils which have taken place in private life, and among individuals, have been occasioned by the desire of private interest overcoming the public affections; so most of the evils which have taken place among bodies of men have been occasioned by the desire of their own interest over-



coming the principle of universal benevolence : and leading them to attack one another's territories, to encroach on one another's rights, and to endeavour to build their own advancement on the degradation of all within the reach of their power—— What was the love of their country among the *Jews*, but a wretched partiality to themselves, and a proud contempt of all other nations? What was the love of their country among the old *Romans*? We have heard much of it; but I cannot hesitate in saying that, however great it appeared in some of its exertions, it was in general no better than a principle holding together a band of robbers in their attempts to crush all liberty but their own. What is now the love of his country in a *Spaniard*, a *Turk*, or a *Russian*? Can it be considered as any thing better than a passion for slavery, or a blind attachment to a spot where he enjoys no rights, and is disposed of as if he was a beast?

Let us learn by such reflexions to correct

rect and purify this passion, and to make it a just and rational principle of action.

It is very remarkable that the founder of our religion has not once mentioned this duty, or given us any recommendation of it; and this has, by unbelievers, been made an objection to Christianity. What I have said will entirely remove this objection. Certain it is, that, by inculcating on men an attachment to their country, Christianity would, at the time it was propagated, have done unspeakably more harm than good. Among the *Jews*, it would have been an excitement to war and insurrections; for they were then in eager expectation of becoming soon (as the favourite people of Heaven) the lords and conquerors of the earth, under the triumphant reign of the *Messiah*. Among the *Romans*, likewise, this principle had, as I have just observed, exceeded its just bounds, and rendered them enemies to the peace and happiness of mankind. By inculcating it, therefore, Christianity would have confirmed both Jews and

Gentiles in one of the most pernicious faults. Our Lord and his Apostles have done better. They have recommended that UNIVERSAL BENEVOLENCE which is an unspeakably nobler principle than any partial affections. They have laid such stress on loving all men, even our enemies, and made an ardent and extensive charity so essential a part of virtue, that the religion they have preached may, by way of distinction from all other religions, be called the Religion of Benevolence. Nothing can be more friendly to the general rights of mankind ; and were it duly regarded and practised, every man would consider every other man as his brother, and all the animosity that now takes place among contending nations would be abolished. If you want any proof of this, think of our Saviour's parable of the good Samaritan. The *Jews* and *Samaritans* were two rival nations that entertained a hatred of one another the most inveterate. The design of this parable was to shew to a *Jew*,  
that

that even a *Samaritan*, and consequently all men of all nations and religions, were included in the precept, **THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR AS THYSELF.**

But I am digressing from what I had chiefly in view ; which was, after noticing that love of our country which is false and spurious, to explain the nature and effects of that which is just and reasonable. With this view I must desire you to recollect that we are so constituted that our affections are more drawn to some among mankind than to others, in proportion to their degrees of nearness to us, and our power of being useful to them. It is obvious that this is a circumstance in the constitution of our natures which proves the wisdom and goodness of our Maker ; for had our affections been determined alike to all our fellow-creatures, human life would have been a scene of embarrassment and distraction. Our regards, according to the order of nature, begin with ourselves ; and every man is charged primarily with  
the



the care of himself. Next come our families, and benefactors, and friends; and after them our country. We can do little for the interest of mankind at large. To this interest, however, all other interests are subordinate. The noblest principle in our nature is the regard to general justice, and that good-will which embraces all the world.—I have already observed this; but it cannot be too often repeated. Though our immediate attention must be employed in promoting our own interest and that of our nearest connexions; yet we must remember, that a narrower interest ought always to give way to a more extensive interest. In pursuing particularly the interest of our country, we ought to carry our views beyond it. We should love it ardently, but not exclusively. We ought to seek its good, by all the means that our different circumstances and abilities will allow; but at the same time we ought to consider ourselves as citizens of the world, and take care to maintain a just regard to the rights of other countries.

The



The enquiry by what means (subject to this limitation) we may best promote the interest of our country is very important; and all that remains of this discourse shall be employed in answering it, and in exhorting you to manifest your love to your country, by the means I shall mention.

The chief blessings of human nature are the three following:—TRUTH—VIRTUE—and LIBERTY.—These are, therefore, the blessings in the possession of which the interest of our country lies, and to the attainment of which our love of it ought to direct our endeavours. By the diffusion of KNOWLEDGE it must be distinguished from a country of *Barbarians*: by the practice of religious VIRTUE, it must be distinguished from a country of *gamblers*, *Atheists*, and *libertines*: and by the possession of LIBERTY, it must be distinguished from a country of *slaves*.—I will dwell for a few moments on each of these heads:

Our first concern, as lovers of our country,

country, must be to *enlighten* it.—Why are the nations of the world so patient under despotism?—Why do they crouch to tyrants, and submit to be treated as if they were a herd of cattle? Is it not because they are kept in darkness, and want knowledge? Enlighten them and you will elevate them. Shew them they are *men*, and they will act like *men*. Give them just ideas of civil government, and let them know that it is an expedient for gaining protection against injury and defending their rights\*, and it will be impossible for them to submit to governments which, like most of those now in the world, are usurpations on the rights of men, and little better than contrivances for enabling the *few* to oppress the *many*. Convince them that the Deity is a righteous and benevolent as well as omnipotent being, who regards with equal eye all his creatures, and connects his favour with nothing but an honest desire to know and do his will; and that

\* See the Declaration of Rights by the National Assembly of *France*, in the Appendix.

zeal for mystical doctrines which has led men to hate and harass one another will be exterminated. Set religion before them as a rational service, consisting not in any rites and ceremonies, but in worshipping God with a pure heart and practising righteousness from the fear of his displeasure and the apprehension of a future righteous judgment, and that gloomy and cruel superstition will be abolished which has hitherto gone under the name of religion, and to the support of which civil government has been perverted.— Ignorance is the parent of bigotry, intolerance, persecution and slavery. Inform and instruct mankind ; and these evils will be excluded.—Happy is the person who, himself raised above vulgar errors, is conscious of having aimed at giving mankind this instruction. Happy is the Scholar or Philosopher who at the close of life can reflect that he has made this use of his learning and abilities : but happier far must he be, if at the same time he has reason to believe he has been successful, and actually contributed, by his instructions, to disseminate

minate among his fellow-creatures just notions of themselves, of their rights, of religion, and the nature and end of civil government. Such were *Milton*, *Locke*, *Sidney*, *Hoadly*, &c. in this country ; such were *Montesquieu*, *Marmontel*, *Turgot*, &c. in France. They sowed a seed which has since taken root, and is now growing up to a glorious harvest. To the information they conveyed by their writings we owe those revolutions in which every friend to mankind is now exulting.—What an encouragement is this to us all in our endeavours to enlighten the world ? Every degree of illumination which we can communicate must do the greatest good. It helps to prepare the minds of men for the recovery of their rights, and hastens the overthrow of priestcraft and tyranny. —In short, we may, in this instance, learn our duty from the conduct of the oppressors of the world. They know that light is hostile to them, and therefore they labour to keep men in the dark. With this intention they have appointed licensers of the press ; and, in Popish countries,



countries, prohibited the reading of the Bible. Remove the darkness in which they envelope the world, and their usurpations will be exposed, their power will be subverted, and the world emancipated.

The next great blessing of human nature which I have mentioned is VIRTUE. This ought to follow knowledge, and to be directed by it. Virtue without knowledge makes enthusiasts; and knowledge without virtue makes devils; but both united elevates to the top of human dignity and perfection.—We must, therefore, if we would serve our country, make both these the objects of our zeal. We must discourage vice in all its forms; and our endeavours to enlighten must have ultimately in view a reformation of manners and virtuous practice.

I must add here, that in the practice of virtue I include the discharge of the public duties of religion. By neglecting these we may injure our country essentially. But it is melancholy to observe that it is a common neglect among us; and in a  
great



great measure owing to a cause which is not likely to be soon removed: I mean, the defects (may I not say, the absurdities?) in our established codes of faith and worship. In foreign countries, the higher ranks of men, not distinguishing between the religion they see established and the Christian religion, are generally driven to irreligion and infidelity. The like evil is produced by the like cause in this country; and if no reformation of our established formularies can be brought about, it must be expected that religion will go on to lose its credit, and that little of it will be left except among the lower orders of people, many of whom, while their superiors give up all religion, are sinking into a barbarism in religion lately revived by Methodism, and mistaking, as the world has generally done, the service acceptable to God for a system of faith souring the temper, and a service of forms supplanting morality.

I hope you will not mistake what I am now saying, or consider it as the effect of my prejudices as a Dissenter from the  
 established

established church. The complaint I am making, is the complaint of many of the wisest and best men in the established church itself, who have been long urging the necessity of a revival of its Liturgy and Articles\*. These were framed above two centuries ago, when Christendom was just emerging from the ignorance and barbarity of the dark ages. They remain now much the same they were then; and, therefore, cannot be properly adapted to the good sense and liberality of the present times.—This imperfection, however, in our public forms of worship, affords no excuse to any person for neglecting public worship. All communities will have some religion; and it is of infinite consequence that they should be led to that which, by enforcing the obligations of virtue and putting men

\* See a pamphlet ascribed to a great name, and which would dignify any name, entitled, *Hints, &c. submitted to the serious Attention of the Clergy, Nobility, and Gentry, newly assembled. By a Layman, a Friend to the true Principles of the Constitution in Church and State, and to Civil and Religious Liberty.* The Third Edition, corrected; and printed for *White and Debrett*, 1789.

upon loving instead of damning one another, is most favourable to the interest of society.

If there is a Governor of the world, who directs all events, he ought to be invoked and worshipped; and those who dislike that mode of worship which is prescribed by public authority, ought (if they can find no worship *out* of the church which they approve) to set up a separate worship for themselves; and by doing this, and giving an example of a rational and manly worship, men of weight, from their rank or literature, may do the greatest service to society and the world. They may bear a testimony against that application of civil power to the support of particular modes of faith, which obstructs human improvement, and perpetuates error; and they may hold out an instruction which will discountenance superstition, and at the same time recommend religion, by making it appear to be (what it certainly is when rightly understood) the strongest incentive to all that is generous and worthy, and

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consequently the best friend to public order and happiness.

LIBERTY is the next great blessing which I have mentioned as the object of patriotic zeal. It is inseparable from knowledge and virtue, and together with them completes the glory of a community. An enlightened and virtuous country must be a free country. It cannot suffer invasions of its rights, or bend to tyrants.—I need not, on this occasion, take any pains to shew you how great a blessing liberty is. The smallest attention to the history of past ages, and the present state of mankind, will make you sensible of its importance. Look round the world, and you will find almost every country, respectable or contemptible, happy or miserable, a fruitful field or a frightful waste, according as it possesses or wants this blessing. Think of *Greece*, formerly the seat of arts and science, and the most distinguished spot under heaven; but now, having lost liberty, a vile and wretched spot, a region of darkness, po-



verty, and barbarity.—Such reflexions must convince you that, if you love your country, you cannot be zealous enough in promoting the cause of liberty in it. But it will come in my way to say more to this purpose presently.

The observations I have made include our whole duty to our country; for by endeavouring to liberalize and enlighten it, to discourage vice and to promote virtue in it, and to assert and support its liberties, we shall endeavour to do all that is necessary to make it great and happy.—But it is proper that, on this occasion, I should be more explicit, and exemplify our duty to our country by observing farther, that it requires us to obey its laws, and to respect its magistrates.

Civil government (as I have before observed) is an institution of human prudence for guarding our persons, our property, and our good name, against invasion; and for securing to the members of a community that liberty to which all have



an equal right, as far as they do not, by any overt act, use it to injure the liberty of others. Civil laws are regulations agreed upon by the community for gaining these ends\*; and civil magistrates are officers appointed by the community for executing these laws. Obedience, therefore, to the laws and to magistrates, are necessary expressions of our regard to the community; and without this obedience the ends of government cannot be obtained, or a community avoid falling into a state of anarchy that will destroy those rights and subvert that liberty, which government is instituted to protect.

I wish it was in my power to give you a just account of the importance of this observation. It shews the ground on which the duty of obeying civil governors stands, and that there are two extremes in this case which ought to be avoided.—These extremes are adulation and fervility on one hand; and a

\* See Articles III. and VI. of the Declaration of Rights, by the National Assembly of France, in the Appendix.

proud and licentious contempt on the other. The former is the extreme to which mankind in general have been most prone; for it has oftener happened that men have been too passive than too unruly; and the rebellion of Kings against their people has been more common, and done more mischief, than the rebellion of people against their Kings.

Adulation is always odious, and when offered to men in power it corrupts *them*, by giving them improper ideas of their situation; and it debases those who offer it, by manifesting an abjectness founded on improper ideas of *themselves*. I have lately observed in this kingdom too near approaches to this abjectness. In our late addresses to the King, on his recovery from the severe illness with which God has been pleased to afflict him, we have appeared more like a herd crawling at the feet of a master, than like enlightened and manly citizens rejoicing with a beloved sovereign, but at the same time conscious that he derives all his consequence from themselves.

But,

But, perhaps, these fervilities in the language of our late addressees should be pardoned, as only *forms* of civility and expressions of an overflow of good-nature. They have, however, a dangerous tendency. The potentates of this world are sufficiently apt to consider themselves as possessed of an inherent superiority, which gives them a right to govern, and makes mankind *their own*; and this infatuation is almost every where fostered in them by the creeping sycophants about them, and the language of flattery which they are continually hearing.

Civil governors are properly the servants of the public; and a King is no more than the first servant of the public, created by it, maintained by it, and responsible to it: and all the homage paid him, is due to him on no other account than his relation to the public. His sacredness is the sacredness of the community. His authority is the authority of the community; and the term MAJESTY, which it is usual to apply to him,

him, is by no means *his own* majesty, but the MAJESTY OF THE PEOPLE, For this reason, whatever he may be in his private capacity ; and though, in respect of personal qualities, not equal to, or even far below many among ourselves—For this reason, I say, (that is, as representing the community and its first magistrate), he is entitled to our reverence and obedience. The words MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY are rightly applied to him; and there is a respect which it would be criminal to withhold from him.

You cannot be too attentive to this observation. The improvement of the world depends on the attention to it : nor will mankind be ever as virtuous and happy, as they are capable of being, till the attention to it becomes universal and efficacious. If we forget it, we shall be in danger of an idolatry as gross and stupid as that of the ancient heathens, who, after fabricating blocks of wood or stone, fell down and worshipped them.—The disposition in mankind to this kind of idolatry is indeed a very mortifying subject



subject of reflexion.——In TURKEY, millions of human beings adore a silly mortal, and are ready to throw themselves at his feet, and to submit their lives to his discretion.——In RUSSIA, the common people are only a stock on the lands of grandees, or appendages to their estates, which, like the fixtures in a house, are bought and sold with the estates. In SPAIN, in GERMANY, and under most of the governments of the world, mankind are in a similar state of humiliation. Who, that has a just sense of the dignity of his nature, can avoid execrating such a debasement of it?

Had I been to address the King on a late occasion, I should have been inclined to do it in a style very different from that of most of the addressers, and to use some such language as the following:——

“ I rejoice, Sir, in your recovery. I  
 “ thank God for his goodness to you. I  
 “ honour you not only as my King, but  
 “ as almost the only lawful King in the  
 “ world, because the only one who owes  
 “ his crown to the choice of his people.  
 “ May

“ May you enjoy all possible happiness.  
 “ May God shew you the folly of those  
 “ effusions of adulation which you are  
 “ now receiving, and guard you against  
 “ their effects. May you be led to such  
 “ a just sense of the nature of your situa-  
 “ tion, and endowed with such wisdom,  
 “ as shall render your restoration to the  
 “ government of these kingdoms a bless-  
 “ ing to it, and engage you to con-  
 “ sider yourself as more properly the  
 “ *Servant* than the *Sovereign* of your  
 “ people.”

But I must not forget the opposite ex-  
 treme to that now taken notice of ; that is,  
 a disdainful pride, derived from a consci-  
 ousness of equality, or, perhaps, superiori-  
 ty, in respect of all that gives true dignity,  
 to men in power, and producing a con-  
 tempt of them, and a disposition to treat  
 them with rudeness and insult. It is a  
 trite observation, that extremes generally  
 beget one another. This is particularly  
 true in the present case. Persons justly  
 informed on the subject of government,  
 when

when they see men dazzled by looking up to high stations, and observe loyalty carried to a length that implies ignorance and servility : such persons, in such circumstances, are in danger of spurning at all public authority, and throwing off that respectful demeanor to persons invested with it which the order of society requires. There is undoubtedly a particular deference and homage due to civil magistrates, on account of their stations and offices ; nor can that man be either truly wise or truly virtuous, who despises governments, and wantonly *speaks evil of his rulers* ; or who does not, by all the means in his power, endeavour to strengthen their hands, and to give weight to their exertions in the discharge of their duty.—*Fear God*, says St. Peter. *Love the brotherhood. Honour all men. Honour the King.*——*You must needs*, says St. Paul, *be subject to rulers, not only for wrath* (that is, from the fear of suffering the penalties annexed to the breach of the laws), *but for conscience sake. For rulers are ministers of God, and re-*  
*vengers*

*vengers for executing wrath on all that do evil.*

Another expression of our love to our country is defending it against enemies. These enemies are of two sorts, internal and external ; or domestic and foreign. The former are the most dangerous, and they have generally been the most successful. I have just observed, that there is a submission due to the executive officers of government, which is our duty ; but you must not forget what I have also observed, that it must not be a blind and slavish submission. Men in power (unless better disposed than is common) are always endeavouring to extend their power. They hate the doctrine, that it is a TRUST derived from the people, and not a *right* vested in themselves. For this reason, the tendency of every government is to despotism ; and in this the best constituted governments must end, if the people are not vigilant, ready to take alarms, and determined to resist abuses as soon as they begin. This vigilance,



gillance, therefore, it is our duty to maintain. Whenever it is withdrawn, and a people cease to reason about their rights and to be awake to encroachments, they are in danger of being enslaved, and their *servants* will soon become their *masters*.

I need not say how much it is our duty to defend our country against foreign enemies. When a country is attacked in any of its rights by another country, or when any attempts are made by ambitious foreign powers to injure it, a war in its defence becomes necessary: and, in such circumstances, to die for our country is meritorious and noble. These *defensive* wars are, in my opinion, the only just wars. *Offensive* wars are always unlawful; and to seek the aggrandizement of our country by them, that is, by attacking other countries, in order to extend dominion, or to gratify avarice, is wicked and detestable. Such, however, have been most of the wars which have taken place in the world; but the time is, I hope, coming, when a conviction will prevail,

prevail, of the folly \* as well as the iniquity of wars ; and when the nations of the earth, happy under just governments, and no longer in danger from the passions of Kings, will find out better ways of settling their disputes ; and beat (as Ifaiah prophecies) *their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks.*

Among the particulars included in that duty to our country, by discharging which we should shew our love to it, I will only further mention praying for it, and offering up thanksgivings to God for every event favourable to it. At the pre-

\* See a striking representation of the folly of wars, in the last sections of Mr. Necker's Treatise on the *Administration of the Finances of FRANCE*. There is reason to believe that the sentiments on this subject in that treatise, are now the prevailing sentiments in the court and legislature of FRANCE ; and, consequently, that one of the happy effects of the revolution in that country may be, if not our own fault, such a harmony between the two first kingdoms in the world, strengthened by a common participation in the blessings of liberty, as shall not only prevent their engaging in any future wars with one another, but dispose them to unite in preventing wars every where, and in making the world free and happy.

sent

sent season we are called upon to express, in this way, our love to our country. It is the business of this day, and of the present service; and, therefore, it is necessary that I should now direct your attention to it particularly.

We are met to thank God for that event in this country to which the name of THE REVOLUTION has been given; and which, for more than a century, it has been usual for the friends of freedom, and more especially Protestant Dissenters, under the title of the REVOLUTION SOCIETY, to celebrate with expressions of joy and exultation.—My highly valued and excellent friend \*, who addressed you on this occasion last year, has given you an interesting account of the principal circumstances that attended this event, and of the reasons we have for rejoicing in it. By a bloodless victory, the fetters which despotism had been long preparing for us were broken; the rights of

\* See Dr. Kippis's Sermon, preached on November 4th, 1788, to the Revolution Society, and printed for Mr. Cadell.

the people were asserted, a tyrant expelled, and a Sovereign of our own choice appointed in his room. Security was given to our property, and our consciences were emancipated. The bounds of free enquiry were enlarged; the volume in which are the words of eternal life, was laid more open to our examination; and that *era* of light and liberty was introduced among us, by which we have been made an example to other kingdoms, and became the instructors of the world. Had it not been for this deliverance, the probability is, that, instead of being thus distinguished, we should now have been a base people, groaning under the infamy and misery of popery and slavery. Let us, therefore, offer thanksgivings to God, the author of all our blessings. *Had he not been on our side, we should have been swallowed up quick, and the proud waters would have gone over our souls. But our souls are escaped, and the snare has been broken. Blessed then be the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth.* cxxivth Psalm.

It



It is well known that King James was not far from gaining his purpose; and that probably he would have succeeded, had he been less in a hurry. But he was a fool as well as a bigot. He wanted courage as well as prudence; and, therefore, fled, and left us to settle quietly for ourselves that constitution of government which is now our boast. We have particular reason, as Protestant Dissenters, to rejoice on this occasion. It was at this time we were rescued from persecution, and obtained the liberty of worshipping God in the manner we think most acceptable to him. It was then our meeting-houses were opened, our worship was taken under the protection of the law, and the principles of toleration gained a triumph. We have, therefore, on this occasion, peculiar reasons for thanksgiving—But let us remember that we ought not to satisfy ourselves with thanksgivings. Our gratitude, if genuine, will be accompanied with endeavours to give stability to the deliverance our country has obtained, and to extend and improve the

D happiness

happiness with which the Revolution has blest us—Let us, in particular, take care not to forget the principles of the Revolution. This Society has, very properly, in its Reports, held out these principles, as an instruction to the public. I will only take notice of the three following :

First ; The right to liberty of conscience in religious matters.

Secondly ; The right to resist power when abused. And,

Thirdly ; The right to chuse our own governors ; to cashier them for misconduct ; and to frame a government for ourselves.

On these three principles, and more especially the last, was the Revolution founded. Were it not true that liberty of conscience is a sacred right ; that power abused justifies resistance ; and that civil authority is a delegation from the people—Were not, I say, all this true ; the Revolution would have been not an AS-

SERTION,

SERTION, but an INVASION of rights ; not a REVOLUTION, but a REBELLION. Cherish in your breasts this conviction, and act under its influence ; detesting the odious doctrines of passive obedience, non-resistance, and the divine right of kings—doctrines which, had they been acted upon in this country, would have left us at this time wretched slaves—doctrines which imply, that God made mankind to be oppressed and plundered ; and which are no less a blasphemy against him, than an insult on common sense.

I would farther direct you to remember, that though the Revolution was a great work, it was by no means a perfect work ; and that all was not then gained which was necessary to put the kingdom in the secure and complete possession of the blessings of liberty.—In particular, you should recollect, that the toleration then obtained was imperfect. It included only those who could declare their faith in the doctrinal articles of the church of England. It has, indeed, been since extended, but not sufficiently ; for there still

exist penal laws on account of religious opinions, which (were they carried into execution) would shut up many of our places of worship, and silence and imprison some of our ablest and best men.—

The TEST LAWS are also still in force; and deprive of eligibility to civil and military offices, all who cannot conform to the established worship. It is with great pleasure I find that the body of Protestant Dissenters, though defeated in two late attempts to deliver their country from this disgrace to it, have determined to persevere. Should they at last succeed, they will have the satisfaction, not only of removing from themselves a proscription they do not deserve, but of contributing to lessen the number of our public iniquities. For I cannot call by a gentler name, laws which convert an ordinance appointed by our Saviour to commemorate his death, into an instrument of oppressive policy, and a qualification of rakes and atheists for civil posts.—I have said, *should* they succeed—but perhaps I ought not to suggest a doubt about their success.



ſucceſs\*. And, indeed, when I conſider that  
in SCOTLAND the eſtabliſhed church is  
defended

\* It has been unfortunate for the Diſſenters that, in their late applications for a repeal of the Teſt Laws, they have been oppoſed by Mr. PITT. He has contended that, on account of their not believing and worſhipping as the Church of England does, they ought to be excluded from that eligibility to public offices which is the right of other citizens, and conſequently denied a *complete* toleration; acknowledging, however, their integrity and reſpectableneſs, but reckoning it only the more neceſſary on that account to defend the national church againſt them. Such ſentiments in theſe times can do no honour to any man, much leſs to a ſon of the late Lord CHATHAM, whoſe opinion of toleration and Proteſtant Diſſenters may be learnt from the following account.

In 1769 and 1772, the miniſters among the Diſſenters applied to Parliament for relief from the obligation they were then under to ſubſcribe the doctrinal articles of the Church of England in order to be entitled to a toleration, and both times ſucceeded in the Houſe of Commons, in conſequence of Lord NORTH's neutrality, but were defeated in the Houſe of Lords, in conſequence of an oppoſition from the Episcopical Bench. They perſevered, however; the Biſhops repented; and a third application proved ſucceſſful in both Houſes.—In the debate occaſioned in the Houſe of Lords by the *ſecond* application, Dr. Drummond, the Archbiſhop of York, having called the Diſſenting Miniſters “men of cloſe ambition,” Lord CHATHAM ſaid, that this was judging uncharitably; and that whoever brought ſuch a charge againſt them, without proof, defamed. Here he paſed; and then went on—“The Diſſenting Miniſters are repreſented as men of cloſe  
“ ambition. They are ſo, my Lords; and their ambi-

defended by no such test—that in IRELAND it has been abolished—that in a great neighbouring country it has been declared to be an indefeasible right of all citizens to be equally eligible to public offices—that in the same kingdom a professed Dissenter from the established church holds

“tion is to keep *close* to the college of fishermen, not of  
 “cardinals, and to the doctrine of inspired apostles, not  
 “to the decrees of interested and aspiring bishops. They  
 “contend for a spiritual creed, and scriptural worship. We  
 “have a Calvinistic creed, a Popish liturgy, and an Armi-  
 “nian clergy. The Reformation has laid open the scrip-  
 “tures to all. Let not the Bishops shut them again. Laws  
 “in support of ecclesiastical power are pleaded for, which  
 “it would shock humanity to execute. It is said, that re-  
 “ligious sects have done great mischief, when they were not  
 “kept under restraint: but history affords no proof that  
 “sects have ever been mischievous, when they were not op-  
 “pressed and persecuted by the ruling church.” See the Par-  
 liamentary Debates for 1772.

In one of his letters to me, not long after this debate, dated Burton-Pynsent, January 16, 1773, he expresses himself in the following words: “In writing to you, it is im-  
 “possible the mind should not go of itself to that most inte-  
 “resting of all objects to fallible man—TOLERATION. Be  
 “assured, that on this sacred and unalienable right of na-  
 “ture, and bulwark of truth, my warm wishes will always  
 “keep pace with your own. Happy, if the times had al-  
 “lowed us to add hopes to our wishes.”

the

the first office in the state—that in the Emperor's dominions *Jews* have been lately admitted to the enjoyment of equal privileges with other citizens—and that in this very country, a Dissenter, though excluded from the power of *executing* the laws, yet is allowed to be employed in *making* them.—When, I say, I consider such facts as these, I am disposed to think it impossible that the enemies of the repeal of the Test Laws should not soon become ashamed, and give up their opposition.

But the most important instance of the imperfect state in which the Revolution left our constitution, is the **INEQUALITY OF OUR REPRESENTATION**. I think, indeed, this defect in our constitution so gross and so palpable, as to make it excellent chiefly in form and theory. You should remember that a representation in the legislature of a kingdom is the *basis* of constitutional liberty in it, and of all legitimate government; and that without it a government is nothing but an usurpa-

tion\*. When the representation is fair and equal, and at the same time vested with such powers as our House of Commons possesses, a kingdom may be said to govern itself, and consequently to possess true liberty. When the representation is partial, a kingdom possesses liberty only partially; and if extremely partial, it only gives a *semblance* of liberty; but if not only extremely partial, but corruptly chosen, and under corrupt influence after being chosen, it becomes a *nuisance*, and produces the worst of all forms of government—a government by corruption—a government carried on and supported by spreading venality and profligacy through a kingdom. May heaven preserve this kingdom from a calamity so dreadful! It is the point of depravity to which abuses under such a government as ours naturally tend, and the last stage of national unhappiness. We are, at present, I hope, at a great distance from it. But it cannot be pretended that there

\* Except in states so small as to admit of a Legislative Assembly, consisting of all the members of the state.



are no advances towards it, or that there is no reason for apprehension and alarm.

The inadequateness of our representation has been long a subject of complaint. This is, in truth, our fundamental grievance; and I do not think that any thing is much more our duty, as men who love their country, and are grateful for the Revolution, than to unite our zeal in endeavouring to get it redressed. At the time of the American war, associations were formed for this purpose in LONDON, and other parts of the kingdom; and our present Minister himself has, since that war, directed to it an effort which made him a favourite with many of us. But all attention to it seems now lost, and the probability is, that this inattention will continue, and that nothing will be done towards gaining for us this essential blessing, till some great calamity again alarms our fears, or till some great abuse of power again provokes our resentment; or, perhaps, till the acquisition of a pure and equal representation by other countries (while  
we

we are mocked with the shadow\*) kindles our shame.

Such is the conduct by which we ought to express our gratitude for the Revolution.—We should always bear in mind the principles that justify it. We should contribute all we can towards supplying what it left deficient ; and shew ourselves anxious about transmitting the blessings obtained by it to our posterity, unimpaired and improved.—But, brethren, while we thus shew our patriotic zeal, let us take care not to disgrace the cause of patriotism, by any licentious, or immoral conduct.—Oh ! how earnestly do I wish that all who profess zeal in this cause, were as distinguished by the purity of their morals, as some of them are by their abilities ; and that I could make them sensible of the advantages they would derive from a virtuous character, and of the suspicions they incur and the loss of consequence they suffer by wanting it.—Oh ! that I could see in men who oppose

\* A representation chosen principally by the Treasury, and a few thousands of the dregs of the people, who are generally paid for their votes.

tyranny

tyranny in the state, a disdain of the tyranny of low passions in themselves ; or, at least, such a sense of shame, and regard to public order and decency as would induce them to *hide* their irregularities, and to avoid insulting the virtuous part of the community by an open exhibition of vice !—I cannot reconcile myself to the idea of an immoral patriot, or to that separation of private from public virtue, which some think to be possible. Is it to be expected that ——— But I must forbear. I am afraid of applications, which many are too ready to make, and for which I should be sorry to give any just occasion.

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I have been explaining to you the nature and expressions of a just regard to our country. Give me leave to exhort you to examine your conduct by what I have been saying. You love your country, and desire its happiness ; and, without doubt, you have the greatest reason for loving it. It has been long a  
very

very distinguished and favoured country. Often has God appeared for it and delivered it. Let us study to shew ourselves worthy of the favour shewn us.— Do you practise virtue yourselves, and study to promote it in others? Do you obey the laws of your country, and aim at doing your part towards maintaining and perpetuating its privileges? Do you always give your vote on the side of public liberty; and are you ready to pour out your blood in its defence? Do you look up to God for the continuance of his favour to your country, and pray for its prosperity; preserving, at the same time, a strict regard to the rights of other countries, and always considering yourselves more as citizens of the world than as members of any particular community?—If this is your temper and conduct you are blessings to your country, and were all like you, this world would soon be a heaven.

I am addressing myself to Christians. Let me, therefore, mention to you the example of our blessed Saviour. I have  
observed,



observed, at the beginning of this discourse, that he did not inculcate upon his hearers the love of their country, or take any notice of it as a part of our duty. Instead of doing this, I observed that he taught the obligation to love all mankind, and recommended universal benevolence, as (next to the love of God) our first duty ; and, I think, I also proved to you, that this, in the circumstances of the world at that time, was an instance of incomparable wisdom and goodness in his instructions. But we must not infer from hence, that he did not include the love of our country in the number of our duties. He has shewn the contrary by his example. It appears that he possessed a particular affection for his country, though a very wicked country. We read in Luke x. 42, that when, upon approaching *Jerusalem*, in one of his last journies to it, he beheld it, he wept over it, and said ; *Oh ! that thou hadst known (even thou, at least in this thy day) the things that belong to thy peace.*—What a tender solicitude about his country does  
the

the lamentation over *Jerusalem* imply, which is recorded in the same gospel, chap. xiii. and 34. *Oh! Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them who are sent to thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen gathereth her brood under her wings, but ye would not.*

It may not be improper farther to mention the love St. Paul expressed for his country, when he declared, that, for the sake of his brethren and kinsmen, he could even wish himself *accursed from Christ*. (Rom. ix. 3.) The original words are an *ANATHEMA from Christ*; and his meaning is, that he could have been contented to suffer *himself* the calamities which were coming on the Jewish people, were it possible for him, by such a sacrifice of himself, to save them.

It is too evident that the state of this country is such as renders it an object of concern and anxiety. It wants (I have shewn you) the grand security of public liberty. Increasing luxury has multiplied abuses in it. A monstrous weight

weight of debt is crippling it. Vice and venality are bringing down upon it God's displeasure. That spirit to which it owes its distinctions is declining \*; and some late events seem to prove that it is becoming every day more reconcileable to encroachments on the securities of its liberties †.—It wants, therefore, your patriotic services; and, for the sake of the distinctions it has so long enjoyed; for the sake of our brethren and companions, and all that should be dear to a free people, we ought to do our utmost to save it from the dangers that threaten it; remembering, that by acting

\* One of these distinctions is, that being in possession of the forms of an excellent constitution of government, any changes or improvements necessary to correct abuses and to give perfect liberty, may be grafted upon them, without tumult or danger; whereas other countries, wanting these forms, and being under the necessity of erecting a new constitution on the ruins of an old one, cannot acquire liberty without setting every thing afloat, and making their escape from slavery through the dangers of anarchy.

† Among these encroachments I must reckon the extension of the Excise laws, the introduction of the custom of farming taxes, and the additional burdens lately thrown on the freedom of the press, and the circulation of intelligence.

thus,

thus, we shall promote, in the best manner, our own private interest, as well as the interest of our country ; for when the community prospers, the individuals that compose it must prosper with it.— But, should that not happen, or should we even suffer in our secular interest by our endeavours to promote the interest of our country, we shall feel a satisfaction in our own breasts which is preferable to all this world can give ; and we shall enjoy the transporting hope of soon becoming members of a perfect community in the heavens, and having *an entrance ministered to us, abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.*

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You may reasonably expect that I should now close this address to you. But I cannot yet dismiss you. I must not conclude without recalling, particularly, to your recollection, a consideration to which I have more than once alluded, and which, probably, your thoughts have



have been all along anticipating : A consideration with which my mind is impressed more than I can express. I mean, the consideration of the favourableness of the present times to all exertions in the cause of public liberty.

What an eventful period is this ! I am thankful that I have lived to it ; and I could almost say, *Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.* I have lived to see a diffusion of knowledge, which has undermined superstition and error—I have lived to see the rights of men better understood than ever ; and nations panting for liberty, which seemed to have lost the idea of it.—I have lived to see THIRTY MILLIONS of people, indignant and resolute, spurning at slavery, and demanding liberty with an irresistible voice ; their king led in triumph, and an arbitrary monarch surrendering himself to his subjects.—After sharing in the benefits of one Revolution, I have been spared to be a witness to two other Revolutions, both glorious.—And now,  
E methinks

methinks, I see the ardor for liberty catching and spreading ; a general amendment beginning in human affairs ; the dominion of kings changed for the dominion of laws, and the dominion of priests giving way to the dominion of reason and conscience.

Be encouraged, all ye friends of freedom, and writers in its defence ! The times are auspicious. Your labours have not been in vain. Behold kingdoms, admonished by you, starting from sleep, breaking their fetters, and claiming justice from their oppressors ! Behold, the light you have struck out, after setting AMERICA free, reflected to FRANCE, and there kindled into a blaze that lays despotism in ashes, and warms and illuminates EUROPE !

Tremble all ye oppressors of the world ! Take warning all ye supporters of slavish governments, and slavish hierarchies ! Call no more (absurdly and wickedly) REFORMATION, innovation. You cannot now hold the world in darkness. Struggle no longer against increasing light and liberality.

( 51 )

berality. Restore to mankind their rights;  
and consent to the correction of abuses,  
before they and you are destroyed to-  
gether.

F I N I S.

E 2

( 2 )

between Boston to maintain their  
and content to the court of justice  
before they and you are delivered to  
gether.



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## A P P E N D I X.

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### *Thirty Millions of People in France.*

( PAGE 49. )

**M**Y reasons for stating the People of *France* at this number, will appear from the following facts and observations.

From accurate enumerations made at the end of every three years in SWEDEN, during 21 years, from 1755 to 1775, it appeared that the average number of inhabitants of all ages, was in that period 2,310,160.

The average of annual births, was 90,245.

The average of annual deaths, including three years of extraordinary mortality, was 66,759. A  $\frac{34}{100}$ th part and three-fifths, therefore, of the inhabitants died annually. See my Treatise on Annuities, Vol. I. p. 274, and Vol. II. p. 123, &c. and the first additional Essay at the end of the second Vol. p. 16, &c.

In the kingdom of NAPLES, consisting in 1777 of 4,311,503 inhabitants, the average of annual deaths for five years was 115,412. A  $\frac{37}{100}$ th part, therefore, of the inhabitants died annually. lb. Vol. I. p. 274

In the province of *Vaud*, SWITZERLAND, containing 112,951 inhabitants, a  $\frac{45}{100}$ th part dies annually. lb.

In the kingdom of FRANCE, the medium of annual deaths, births, and marriages, was

Of BIRTHS for 4	For 6 years, to
years, to 1774 - 914,710	1780, - 958,419
Of DEATHS - - 793,931	- - - - 834,865
Of MARRIAGES - 192,180	- - - - 228,170

I see no reason for suspecting, that the proportion of inhabitants dying annually to the whole number of inhabitants, is greater in France than in Sweden, or even in the kingdom of NAPLES. Let it, however, be reckoned the same with that in Sweden; that is, as 1 to  $34\frac{3}{4}$ , and the number of inhabitants in France, in 1780, must have been  $34\frac{3}{4}$  multiplied by 834,865, or nearly TWENTY-NINE MILLIONS.

It should be observed, that in the ten years from 1771 to 1780, there was in FRANCE such an increase of the annual births, deaths, and marriages (produced by the excess of the births above the deaths), as evidently proved that the number of inhabitants had increased in those ten years near a million and a half.

It should be farther considered, that the returns of births, deaths, and marriages in FRANCE, being returns of numbers actually counted and registered, they must be (as such accounts always are) in some degree deficient. Mr. Neckar, in his Treatise on the Administration of the Finances of France (Vol. I. p. 251) has mentioned other deficiencies in these returns; and, particularly,\* that (except the Jews of *Lorraine*, *Alsace*, and the county of *Metz*) the registers of population do not contain the names of any non-catholicks (in number near two millions), except they have been baptized in the established church.

It

It seems, therefore, that my statement of the present inhabitants of France at thirty millions, is very moderate: an addition of two millions on account of an increase since 1780, and the deficiencies just mentioned, would make them 31 millions. Mr. Neckar (*ibid.* p. 219), without making any allowance for this increase, and for deficiencies, states them in 1784 at only 24,802,580, in consequence of multiplying the *births* by  $25\frac{3}{4}$ . But I reckon that in whole kingdoms the proportion of births to the number of inhabitants much more variable than the proportion of deaths; possibly, he was not acquainted with the facts here stated, and many others of the same kind which may be found in the Treatise on Annuities to which I have referred, and which prove that the *lowest* multiplier of the annual medium of deaths which should be used to find the number of inhabitants in a whole kingdom, is 32 or 33. In *Sweden* and the kingdom of *Naples* it appears to be greater; but, if we suppose 33 the right multiplier, the inhabitants of France must have been in 1780,  $27\frac{1}{2}$  millions; and the increase since, with the deficiencies in the returns, will make it highly probable that, even on this supposition, they must be now near 30 millions.

If the births in Sweden are taken for guides in this case, it will be reasonable, in order to find the right multiplier, to increase it for FRANCE in the same proportion that the *ratio* of the excess of the births above the deaths there is less than the same ratio in SWEDEN. And this will make the proper multiplier of the *births* in France 30 nearly, and will give the number of inhabitants in 1780 near 29 millions, as before. I wish there were equal *data* for determining the number of people in BRITAIN.

CHAPTER I

The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the train was the cold. It was a sharp, biting cold that seemed to penetrate my coat. I shivered as I walked towards the station entrance, my hands tucked into my pockets. The air was thick with the scent of coal and the distant hum of machinery. I had heard that the city was a place of contrasts, a place where the old and the new coexisted in a delicate balance. But now, standing in the heart of it all, I felt like a small fish in a vast, cold sea. The streets were wide and empty, the buildings tall and imposing. I had never seen anything like this before. The architecture was a mix of styles, some reminiscent of the grand estates I had seen in my travels, others more modern and utilitarian. The people I saw were a mix of ages and backgrounds, all going about their business in a city that seemed to be in a state of constant flux. I had come here for a reason, a reason that I had not yet fully understood. But now, as I walked through the streets, I began to see the city in a new light. It was a place of opportunity, a place where dreams could be made. It was a place where the future was being built, one brick at a time. I felt a sense of purpose, a sense of direction. I knew that this was my chance, my chance to make a name for myself in a world that was full of possibilities. I took a deep breath and stepped forward, ready to embrace whatever came my way.



*The DECLARATION OF RIGHTS, which has been agreed to by the National Assembly of FRANCE, and sanctioned by the King, and which forms the Basis of the new Constitution of FRANCE, contains such an authority for some of the sentiments in the foregoing Discourse, and holds out to the world an instruction on the subject of Civil Government of such consequence, that I cannot help inserting here the following Translation of it.*

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MEN  
AND OF CITIZENS,

BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF FRANCE.

THE Representatives of the people of FRANCE formed into a National Assembly, considering that ignorance, neglect, or contempt of human rights, are the sole causes of public misfortunes and corruptions of government, have resolved to set forth in a solemn declaration, these natural, imprescriptible, and unalienable rights: that this declaration being constantly present to the minds of the members of the body social, they may be ever kept attentive to their rights and their duties: That the acts of the legislative

tive and executive powers of government being capable of being every moment compared with the end of political institutions, may be more respected: and also, that the future claims of the citizens, being directed by simple and incontestible principles, may always tend to the maintenance of the Constitution, and the general happiness.

For these reasons, the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY doth recognize and declare, in the presence of the Supreme Being and with the hope of his blessing and favour, the following *sacred* rights of men and of citizens.

I. Men were born and always continue free, and equal in respect of their rights. Civil distinctions, therefore, can be founded only on public utility.

II. The end of all political associations is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man; and these rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance of oppression.

III. The nation is essentially the source of all sovereignty; nor can any individual, or any body of men be entitled to any authority which is not expressly derived from it.

IV. Political liberty consists in the power of doing whatever does not injure another. The exercise of the natural rights of every man, has no other limits than those which are necessary to secure to every *other* man the free exercise of the same rights; and these limits are determinable only by the law.

V. The law ought to prohibit only actions hurtful to society. What is not prohibited by the law should not be hindered; nor should any one be compelled to that which the law does not require.

VI. The

VI. The law is an expression of the will of the community. All citizens have a right to concur, either personally or by their representatives, in its formation. It should be the same to all, whether it protects or punishes; and all being equal in its sight, are equally eligible to all honours, places, and employments, according to their different abilities, without any other distinction than that created by their virtues and talents.

VII. No man should be accused, arrested, or held in confinement, except in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which it has prescribed. All who promote, solicit, execute, or cause to be executed arbitrary orders, ought to be punished: and every citizen called upon or apprehended by virtue of the law, ought immediately to obey, and renders himself culpable by resistance.

VIII. The law ought to impose no other penalties than such as are absolutely and evidently necessary; and no one ought to be punished but in virtue of a law promulgated before the offence, and legally applied.

IX. Every man being presumed innocent till he has been convicted, whenever his detention becomes indispensable, all rigour to him, more than is necessary to secure his person, ought to be provided against by the law.

X. No man ought to be molested on account of his opinions, not even on account of his *religious* opinions, provided his avowal of them does not disturb the public order established by the law.

XI. The unrestrained communication of thoughts and opinions being one of the most precious rights of man,

A P P E N D I X.

man, every citizen may speak, write, and publish freely, provided he is responsible for the abuse of this liberty in cases determined by the law.

XII. A public force being necessary to give security to the rights of men and of citizens, that force is instituted for the benefit of the community, and not for the particular benefit of the persons with whom it is entrusted.

XIII. A common contribution being necessary for the support of the public force, and for defraying the other expences of government, it ought to be divided equally among the members of the community, according to their abilities.

XIV. Every citizen has a right, either by himself or his representative, to a free voice in determining the necessity of public contributions, the appropriation of them, and their amount, mode of assessment, and duration.

XV. Every community has a right to demand of all its agents an account of their conduct.

XVI. Every community in which a separation of powers and a security of rights is not provided for, wants a constitution.

XVII. The right to property being inviolable and sacred, no one ought to be deprived of it, except in cases of evident public necessity legally ascertained, and on condition of a previous just indemnity.

I hope



I hope I shall be excused for taking the liberty to offer the following remarks on the *tenth* of these articles :

INTOLERANCE IN RELIGION, and RESTRAINTS on the DISCUSSION of speculative points, have been some of the chief causes of the slow progress of human improvement, and of the miseries of the world. I could therefore have wished to see, in such an instruction to the world as this declaration contains, an article strongly marking and reprobating these evils. This *tenth* article does not, I think, sufficiently answer this purpose. For it is obvious, that in **TURKEY**, writing against Mahomet ; in **SPAIN**, against the Inquisition ; and in every country, against its established doctrines, is a disturbance of public order established by law ; and, therefore, according to this article, punishable.

The *eleventh* article is worthy of the very respectable proposer of it, but in some degree liable to the same objection. Laws may be unjust, and determine the fairest discussions of speculative points, and the best publications, to be abuses of liberty. At **ROME**, a few years ago, the publication of one of the greatest productions of human genius was deemed an abuse of liberty, and prohibited, because it asserted the motion of the earth. Even in **ENGLAND**, at this day, its laws determine every thing written or spoken against the doctrine of the Trinity, to be an offence punishable by fines and imprisonment.

The declaration that would best meet my wishes in this instance would be :

“ That every man has a right to profess and practise, without molestation or the loss of any civil privilege, that mode of religious faith and worship  
“ which

“ which he thinks most acceptable to his maker ; and  
“ also to discuss freely by speaking, writing, and  
“ publishing all speculative points, provided he does  
“ not by any *overt* act or *direct* invasion of the rights  
“ of others, break the peace, or attempt to injure  
“ any one in his person, property, or good name.”

In a Tract on the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, I have given an account of the reasons, which in my opinion require such an extent of religious and intellectual liberty as these words imply ; and which prove that civil power, without concerning itself about opinions or the *tendencies* of opinions, ought to confine itself to the preservation of peace and the protection of universal liberty, as far as it is not employed to injure itself.

The tenth article, on which I have here remarked, was probably a compromise between opposite sentiments in the National Assembly of FRANCE, and may, I hope, in some future time, be re-considered. *M. Rabaud de St. Etienne*, a protestant clergyman, and a member of the Assembly, delivered a speech against it full of eloquence and the justest sentiments. This speech was afterwards printed, and circulated at *Paris* ; and I cannot help wishing that a translation of it, as there printed, may be soon published and circulated in this kingdom.

**SOCIETY for commemorating the Glorious Revolution of 1688.**

*At the Anniversary Meeting of this Society, held at the London Tavern, Nov. 4, 1789.*

The Rt. Hon. Earl STANHOPE in the Chair,

A Report from the Committee was brought up, from which the following is an extract :

“ Your Committee are persuaded, that by the union of the friends of freedom, their rights are ascertained and established; and trusting that it will be highly honourable to avow ourselves, in the most explicit manner, advocates for the pure and genuine principles of civil and religious liberty, they have with this view prepared a book, in which those gentlemen who are inclined to let their names be transmitted to posterity, as the friends of the great and glorious Revolution of 1688, may insert them after the following preamble, and a declaration of assent to the three following propositions.

**P R E A M B L E.**

This Society, sensible of the important advantages arising to this country by its deliverance from popery and arbitrary power, and conscious that, under God, we owe that signal blessing to the Revolution, which seated our deliverer King William the Third on the throne; do hereby declare our firm attachment to the  
civil

civil and religious principles which were recognized and established by that glorious event, and which has preserved the succession in the protestant line; and our determined resolution to maintain, and, to the utmost of our power, to perpetuate, those blessings to the latest posterity.

THREE PROPOSITIONS *containing the fundamental principles of the Society:*

1. That all civil and political authority is derived from the people.
2. That the abuse of power justifies resistance.
3. That the right of private judgment, liberty of conscience, trial by jury, the freedom of the press, and the freedom of election, ought ever to be held sacred and inviolable.

The Committee farther resolved,

That in order to cause the principles of the Revolution to be well understood, extensively propagated, and firmly maintained; and to preserve the glorious fabric of the British Constitution; and to transmit the invaluable blessings of public freedom to posterity, unimpaired and improved, it becomes the people to establish societies throughout the kingdom upon Revolution principles, to maintain a correspondence with each other, and to form that grand concentrated union of the true friends of public liberty, which may be necessary to maintain its existence.

The Committee concluded their Report with congratulating the members of the Society, as Britons, and citizens of the world, upon that noble spirit of civil and religious liberty which had, since the last meeting,



ing, so conspicuously shone forth on the continent, more especially on the glorious success of the French Revolution; and with expressing their ardent wishes that the influence of so glorious an example may be felt by all mankind, until tyranny and despotism shall be swept from the face of the globe, and universal liberty and happiness prevail.

Dr. Price then moved, and it was unanimously resolved, that the following Congratulatory Address to the National Assembly of France, be transmitted to them, signed by the Chairman:

‘ The Society for commemorating the Revolution  
‘ in Great Britain, disdaining national partialities, and  
‘ rejoicing in every triumph of liberty and justice  
‘ over arbitrary power, offer to the National Assembly of France their congratulations on the Revolution in that country, and on the prospect it gives to  
‘ the two first kingdoms in the world, of a common  
‘ participation in the blessings of civil and religious  
‘ liberty.

‘ They cannot help adding their ardent wishes of  
‘ an happy settlement of so important a Revolution,  
‘ and at the same time expressing the particular satisfaction, with which they reflect on the tendency of  
‘ the glorious example given in France to encourage  
‘ other nations to assert the unalienable rights of mankind, and thereby to introduce a general reformation in the governments of Europe, and to make  
‘ the world free and happy.

‘ STANHOPE.’

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